

Message Text

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INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR

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AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

AMCONSUL SURABAYA

CINCPAC

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 JAKARTA 3459

E.O. 11652: NA

TAGS: PINT, ID

SUBJECT: MPR DEVELOPMENTS

1. SUMMARY: LITTLE OR NO PROGRESS TOWARDS CONSENSUS IS EVIDENT IN INITIAL SESSIONS OF THE PEOPLE'S CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY (MPR). IN MARCH 15 PLENARY SESSION DEVOTED TO FIVE FACTIONS' VIEWS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ACCOUNTING FOR HIS PAST TERM, THE GUIDELINES OF STATE POLICY (GBHN), THE GUIDE TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PANCASILA (P4) AND THE PROCEDURES FOR ELECTING THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT THE DEVELOPMENT UNION PARTY (PPP) AND TO LESSER EXTENT THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDI) CLEARLY EXPRESSED THEIR DISSATISFACTION. EXTRA-SESSION NEGOTIATIONS HAVE REPORTEDLY SOFTENED NEITHER PPP NOR GOVERNMENT'S POSITIONS ON THESE BASIC ISSUES, AND PPP HAS TURNED DOWN OFFER OF DPR/MPR CHAIR IN RETURN FOR ACCEPTANCE OF GOVERNMENT'S P4 AND GBHN DRAFTS. RETIRED CHIEF OF STAFF GENERAL NASUTION HAS PRI-

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VATELY URGED THE ARMED FORCES FACTION TO SUPPORT REFORMS ADVOCATED BY STUDENT GROUPS. END SUMMARY.

2. AFTER THREE DAYS OF FACTIONAL MEETINGS THE MPR HELD ITS THIRD PLENARY SESSION MARCH 15 TO ALLOW EACH OF THE FIVE FACTIONS TO PRESENT THEIR VIEWS ON THE PRESIDENT'S MARCH 11 SPEECH REPORTING ON HIS LAST FIVE YEARS IN OFFICE AND ON

THE DRAFT RESOLUTIONS UNDER MPR CONSIDERATION, WHICH INCLUDE THE GBHN, P4, AND THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION PROCEDURES. AS EXPECTED, COLKAR, ABRI, AND THE REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVES WERE IN COMPLETE SUPPORT OF THE PRESIDENT'S VIEWS AND URGED ADOPTION OF THE DRAFT RESOLUTIONS AS THEY STAND AND RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT GOLKAR SPOKESMAN AMIR MURTONO ADDED THAT LAND USE POLICIES COULD BE IMPROVED AND PUBLISHING PERMITS ABOLISHED, AND DENIED THAT THE GOVERNMENT WISHED TO MAKE JAVANESE MYSTICAL BELIEFS INTO A NEW RELIGION. DEPUTY ARMED FORCES COMMANDER GENERAL SURONO SPOKE FOR ABRI, DEFENDING THE DUAL FUNCTION RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE ARMED FORCES IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND ENDORSING THE ENTIRE DRAFT OF THE GBHN. REGIONAL SPOKESMAN SUNANDAR (GOVERNOR OF EAST JAVA) EXPRESSED THE SAME SENTIMENTS AND PAID TRIBUTE TO THE ROLE OF THE ARMED FORCES IN SOCIETY.

3. THE ATMOSPHERE OF ADMIRATION WAS QUICKLY SHATTERED BY PPP SPOKESMAN CHALID MAWARDI, WHO CHARGED THAT NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT HAD NOT BEEN ACCOMPANIED BY SOCIAL JUSTICE. HE OBSERVED THAT THE INDONESIAN ECONOMY SHOULD BE LESS DEPENDENT ON FOREIGN FACTORS AND THAT IT HAS NOW BECOME DUALISTIC, WITH THE MODERN SECTOR RECEIVING MOST OF THE BENEFITS OF DEVELOPMENT AND A LARGE TRADITIONAL ECONOMY SHOWING LITTLE SIGN OF PROGRESS. MAWARDI NOTED THAT PANCASILA IS BEING SEVERELY TESTED BY OCCURRENCES SUCH AS THE RECENT ARRESTS OF STUDENTS AND CLOSURES OF NEWSPAPERS. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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4. MRS. AISYAH AMINY PRESENTED ADDITIONAL PPP VIEWS, OBJECTING TO P4 WHICH SHE SAID DID NOT REFLECT THE TRUE VERSION OF PANCASILA AND WOULD ONLY PROVOKE A DANGEROUS CONTROVERSY OVER INTERPRETATIONS. THE PPP, SHE STATED, IS CONCERNED THAT P4 COULD LATER GIVE BIRTH TO ITS OWN IMPLEMENTING REGULATIONS CONTROLLING THE BEHAVIOR OF CITIZENS. AS EXPECTED, THE PPP OPPOSED THE MENTION OF KEPERCAYAAN (A EUPHEMISM FOR MYSTICAL BELIEFS) AND THE KNPI (INDONESIAN NATIONAL YOUTH COMMITTEE) IN THE GBHN, AND FAVORED NOMINATION OF THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT BY ANY 30 MPR MEMBERS RATHER THAN BY AN ENTIRE FACTION. OTHER SUGGESTIONS WERE THE LIMITING OF THE NUMBER OF TERMS A PRESIDENT OR VICE PRESIDENT COULD SERVE, THE HOLDING OF GENERAL ELECTIONS ON HOLIDAYS UNDER JOINT GOVERNMENT-POLITICAL PARTY SUPERVISION, AND GIVING TEMPORARY GOVERNING POWER TO THE MPR LEADERSHIP IN THE EVENT THAT BOTH PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT ARE INCAPACITATED. (UNDER CURRENT REGULATIONS THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE, FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND INTERIOR WOULD ASSUME POWER.)

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5. SPEAKING FOR THE PDI, DRS. HARDJANTHO SUMODISASTRO
URGED MORE EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
WITH ATTENTION TO RURAL ECONOMIC VIABILITY. HE DEPLORED
THE SHORTFALL IN RICE PRODUCTION AND PROPOSED MORE GOVERN-
MENT PROGRAMS IN THE AGRICULTURAL FIELD. HE CONCLUDED BY
PRAISING THE GOVERNMENT'S ANTI-CORRUPTION CAMPAIGN, RE-
GRETTING THAT CERTAIN STUDENT GROUPS HAD ALLOWED THEMSELVES
TO BE DUPED BY DISSIDENTS, AND THANKED THE GOVERNMENT FOR
PLANNING TO RESTORE THE TOMB OF FORMER PRESIDENT SUKARNO.
HIS COLLEAGUE T.A.M. SIMATUPANG ECHOED HIS VIEWS ON THE
ECONOMY, AND EMPHASIZED THE RIGHTS OF CITIZENS TO EDUCATION
AND FREEDOM OF RELIGION.

6. THE FIVE FACTIONS HAVE REPORTEDLY AGREED AFTER JOIN CON-
SULTATIONS THAT VOTING MAY BE USED TO RESOLVE DISAGREEMENTS
IN THE MPR PLENARY AND COMMITTEE MEETINGS, BUT THEY EXPRESSED
THE HOPE THAT SUCCESSFUL CONSENSUS WOULD MAKE VOTING
UNNECESSARY. PPP MEMBER ANSWAR NURRIS TOLD REPORTERS THAT
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THE PPP WOULD NOT JUST ISSUE A MINORITY REPORT ON THE

KEPERCAYAAN ISSUE, SINCE THIS IS A MAJOR CONCERN FOR MUSLIMS AND ANY AGREEMENT WITH THE PROPOSED P4 TREATMENT OF MYSTICISM WOULD BRING THEM INTO OPPOSITION TO THEIR OWN RELIGION. PPP LEADER NUDDIN LUBIS ANNOUNCED THAT HIS PARTY WAS STILL CONSIDERING BOTH VOTING AND A WALKOUT AS POSSIBLE TACTICS IF AGREEMENT COULD NOT BE REACHED.

7. HIGHLY RELIABLE GOLKAR SOURCE TOLD US THAT THE PPP, WHICH HE SAID IS NOW COMPLETELY CONTROLLED BY STUBBORN RADICALS, HAS REJECTED GOVERNMENT OFFER TO RETURN PPP LEADER IDHAM CHALID TO MPR/DPR CHAIR (REPLACING ADAM MALIK, WHO IS SLATED TO BECOME VICE PRESIDENT) IN RETURN FOR PPP ACQUIESCENCE IN CURRENT GBHN AND P4 DRAFTS. PPP SPOKESMAN NUDDIN LUBIS SEEMED TO CONFIRM THIS BY STATING PUBLICLY, "WE WILL NOT ENGAGE IN HORSE TRADING; LET THE MAJORITY FACTION FILL THE POSITION". GOLKAR SOURCES CONFIRM THAT GOVERNMENT FOR ITS PART WILL COUNTENANCE NO CHANGES IN DRAFT DOCUMENTS. A MAJORITY VOTE THUS APPEARS LIKELY, KNOWLEDGEABLE SOURCES IN DPR/MPR SECRETARIAT TELLS US.

8. MEANWHILE, FORMER ARMED FORCES COMMANDER GEN. A. H. NASUTION HAS PRIVATELY SENT A LENGTHY LETTER TO THE ABRI FACTION URGING THEM TO SUPPORT THE ADOPTION OF SEVERAL CHANGES IN POLICIES AND LAWS AS ADVOCATED BY UNIVERSITY STUDENT GROUPS IN RECENT MONTHS. THESE INCLUDE THE ABOLITION OF KOPKAMTIB AND REPEAL OF THE ANTI-SUBVERSION LAW. THIS RATHER DARING GESTURE BY NASUTION IS OF COURSE UNLIKELY TO SWING ANY VOTES.

9. COMMENT: AN UNPRECEDENTED RESORT TO A MAJORITY VOTE COMBINED WITH MORE STRONG WORDS SUCH AS WE HAVE HEARD TO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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DATE WOULD SEEM TO TRANSFORM THE PPP FORMALLY INTO AN OPPOSITION PARTY, A PHENOMENON HERETOFORE CONSIDERED INCONSONANT WITH THE NEW ORDER. THERE ARE THUS FAR, HOWEVER, FEW INDICATIONS THAT THE PPP WILL OPENLY OPPOSE THE REELECTION OF PRESIDENT SUHARTO. MASTERS

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